

1998

The dark side of leadership and the arts

Gordon L. Blair

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses>



Part of the [Leadership Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Blair, Gordon L., "The dark side of leadership and the arts" (1998). *Honors Theses*. 1149.
<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/1149>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LIBRARIES



3 3082 00688 8076

JSP
Blair

The Dark Side of Leadership and the Arts

By

Gordon L. Blair

Senior Project

Jepson School of Leadership Studies

University of Richmond

Richmond, Virginia

May, 1998

The Dark Side of Leadership and the Arts

This cleaning of our culture must be extended to all fields. Theater, art, literature, cinema, posters, and window displays must be cleansed of all manifestations of our rotting world and placed in the service of a moral, political, and cultural idea.¹

Adolf Hitler

Gordon L. Blair
April 13, 1998
Senior Project
UR

¹ Henry Grosshans, Hitler and the Artists (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983) 1.

In 1933, Heinrich Campendonk and Paul Klee, who was denounced as a "Siberian Jew" and a "dangerous cultural Bolshevik," were expelled from the Dusseldorf Academy of Art; Max Beckerman was forced to resign his teaching position in Frankfurt am Main; Auto Dix was instructed to depart the academy in Dresden (his work was condemned as "deeply wounding to the moral feeling of the German people" and as "calculated to sap the people's will for defense"), and Oskar Schlemmer was dismissed from his professorship in Berlin. In 1934 Carl Hofer was discharged from his post at the art school in Charlottenburg. From 1929 to 1932, Ernst Kirchner had prepared designs for murals for the Folkwang Museum in Essen, but in 1933 he and the museum were ordered to abandon the project.¹

Introduction

This was only the beginning of it. During the twelve years of the Third Reich, thousands of oil paintings and watercolors were removed from museums and hundreds of sculptures were taken from churches and other buildings. Many would dismiss this behavior as simply another example of Hitler's megalomania. Indeed, this attack on all modern art (at the time, considered to be some of the best in the world) is a display of authority and arrogance. However, it is also a tacit assertion by Hitler that he fully understood the power of art as a form of expression. He realized that art exists not only as a vehicle to evoke pleasant feelings or to carry a political message, but also as the the

¹ Grosshans 6.

ideal medium for creating and directing thoughts, desires, and dreams. It empowered the National Socialists to program people's emotions and direct their behavior.

The purpose of this project is to reveal exactly how Hitler used art to effect Germans. From this one should be able to conceptualize: the relevance of art to leadership studies, the relationship of art to leadership studies, and finally, the notion that art can function as leadership. The art to be examined in the following pages is architecture.

Architecture in Nazi Germany

Outside of its architecture, little now remains of the Third Reich, which was to last a thousand years, and had at one time briefly stretched from the Pyrennes to the Caucasus. Yet, the architecture that survived reveals a quintessetial example of the relationship between art and leadership. In its public and party buildings, the Third Reich expressed its philosophy and its aims. Even if *Mein Kampf* had never been written, the architecture of the Nazis would have made plain to the astute observer the sinister ambitions that were the driving force of Hitler's Germany.

The Nazi seizure of power, known as the Machtubernahme, marked the end of the progress made by the German architects during the Weimar Republic. Two of the Republic's leading architects were Walter Gropius and Erich Mendelssohn, both of whom designed buildings well in advance of anything previously constructed in Germany. In modern architecture, Stuggart took the lead. Richard Docker built a modern hospital in near-by Waiblingen, while in Stuttgart itself, Mendelssohn built the Schocken Department Store. Near Stuttgart was the Weissenhof suburb which gave Stuttgart a world-renown reputation among architects.

The designs that were welcome in Stuttgart, however, were

strictly "international" in character and detested by Hitler. This style, called the new reality or die neue Sachlichkeit, with its flat roofs, narrow windows, steel-and-glass, quickly became forbidden in the New Order. Just after the Nazis came to power, Docker, who had built one of the houses in the Weissenhof Exposition of 1927, was told to abandon the roof terrace and put a gable roof on a house he was constructing. Thus, the style that would later be prevalent in much of the world was discarded.

For the Nazis, the modern or new style simply did not exist. They recognized only two extremes in style, the historical and the objective. The former copied architectural forms of the past, while the latter was constantly seeking new forms. With one rejecting new ideas while the other thrived on them, an impasse was reached that the Nazis resolved by constructing buildings that would reflect the spiritual values and political doctrines of the National Socialist state.¹ Buildings, that would exist as, in the words of one architect, "embodiments of the deeper spiritual values of the contemporary political and social doctrines and philosophy of life."²

Nevertheless, abstract ideals were not enough by themselves to influence the vast building program of the Third Reich. The Nazis looked to German architects of the past, and found their

¹ Werner Rittich, New German Architecture (Berlin:Terramare Office, 1941) 5-6.

² Rittich 19.

heroes in Karl Friedrich v. Schinkel, and Leopold v. Klenze. Both of the men were well respected by the Nazis. Klenze was one of the leaders of the Greek Revival in Germany. The Propylaea in Munich was designed by Klenze, as were the Pinakothek and Glyptothek. Schinkel designed the Königswache and the Polytechnic School. He also planned the Altes Museum in Berlin which, with its temple front, is not too dissimilar from the Nazi built Haus der Deutschen Kunst (The House of German Art).

Hitler himself always had more than just a passing interest in architecture. As a young man, he was an artist and hoped to become an architect. He even made numerous plans for the rebuilding of the city of Linz. Few were realized, but one of his favorites, the replacement of the bridge that linked Linz with Urfahr, was carried to completion with the construction of a new bridge shortly after the war broke out. After coming to power, his interest in architecture, which was genuine, continued and he made frequent appearances at those sites where new buildings were being constructed.¹ He carefully watched over the building of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, and according to Heinrich Hoffman, Hitler's personal photographer, "he watched every little thing with an eye like a hawk,"² while the Party Headquarters, known as the Brown House, was being built. This

¹ Grosshans 11

² Heinrich Hoffman, Hitler Was My Friend (London, 1955) 184.

consuming interest in art lasted Hitler's entire life. In 1942, he remarked, "It's against my own inclinations that I devoted myself to politics. I don't see anything in politics anyway, but a means to an end... Wars pass by."¹

If Hitler's Vienna years helped shape his anti-Semitism, the 19th century tradition of that city undoubtedly helped to form his architectural thinking, and when he came to power, he gave his blessing to those plans which were thought provoking and emphasized classicism. In such structures, the greatness of the Third Reich would be reflected. In *Mein Kampf*, he had severely criticized the republic for its failure along these lines:

The essential point, however, is the following: our big cities of today possess no monuments dominating the city picture, which might somehow be regarded as the symbols of the whole epoch. This was true in the cities of antiquity, since nearly every one possessed a special monument in which it took pride. The characteristic aspect of the ancient city did not lie in private buildings, but in the community monuments which seemed made, not for the movement, but for eternity, because they were intended to reflect, not the wealth of the individual owner, but the greatness and wealth of the community.²

Later in the same work, he wrote:

Thus, our cities of the present lack the outstanding symbol of national community which we must therefore not be surprised to find, sees no symbol of itself in the cities. The inevitable result is a desolation whose practical effect is the total indifference of the big-city dweller to the

¹ Grosshans 11

² Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1927) 264.

destiny of his city.¹

The architecture of the Third Reich was thus aimed at repairing this flaw.

Hitler's first architect, Paul Ludwig Troost, was later made Der Baumeister des dritten Reiches (The Master Builder of the Third Reich). He designed the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, and the Fuhrerhaus on the Koniglicher Platz, both in Munich. The Fuhrerhaus was a party building where ceremonies were often conducted. Troost's importance to Nazi architecture cannot be underestimated. "The architectural ideal underlying these buildings of Troost has become a standard for the contemporary German architect."²

The Fuhrerhaus was flanked by the Administration Building of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Association) which was a later structure known as the Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP. The two buildings, though functioning for different reasons, were actually much alike. The stern horizontal lines of the Fuhrerhaus were reproduced in the Verwaltungsbau. Both buildings were faces with limestone from the Danube. Marble, of which the Nazis really liked, was in heavy use. The walls were faced with Jura marble, while the floors were of Saalburg marble. The Verwaltungsbau contained the vast indexes relating to party

¹ Hitler 266.

² Rittich 30.

membership and matters of the party. Above, on the first floor, was the office of the Reichsschatzmeister der NSDAP (Reich's Treasurer), Franz X.¹

The rather severe style that characterizes such party buildings as the Fuhrhaus and the Verwaltungsbau was not carried over in its entirety to all structures. This is likely to be particularly true of those located outside the cities. Good examples of this are the many Hostels for the Hitler Youth or Heime der Hitler-Jugend, which were built at this time. The Nazis were fully aware of the importance of these buildings to the future of their movement. In the words of Reichsjugendfuhrer, Baldur v. Schirach, "Among the educational factors that influence the development of our young men, the Heime take a leading position. Their educational significance cannot be emphasized enough."²

The various youth hostels had much in common. A typical one was the Heim der Hitler-Jugend on the northern outskirts of Stuttgart. It had a hipped roof and dormer windows. The upper floor was of timber filled in with stones and plastered between the beams. In front was a parade ground. The main door was of larchwood, and the floor inside flagged with red sandstone. The

¹Die Schriftleitung, "Der Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP," Moderne Bauformen Aug. 1938: 401-407.

²Die Schriftleitung, "Das Auslandshaus der Hitler-Jugend," Moderne Bauformen Jan. 1939: 2.

meeting rooms inside for the various youth organizations, such as the Hitler Youth and the Federation of German Girls or the Bund Deutscher Madel, appear both attractive and comfortable. For such rooms, the architect varied, and it seems doubtful that there was any one standard to which they were expected to adhere. In the rooms designed for ceremonial and official occasions, however, there was little that varied. The afore mentioned hostel, like most of them, had an impressive Eingangshalle (entrance hall) and Fahnenhalle (The Hall of Flags). As the name implies, the latter was lined with flags, though in this case, the two halls were one and ran the entire height of the building which was two stories, with the staircase against the back wall. The idea here was to increase the appearance of space and give one a clear view down the hall without any break.

Many of the hostels were designed to have a medieval appearance. This is true of the hostel or Heim, at Hilden, Pasing, Reichertshausen, Stuggart-Muhlbachhof, and Stuggart-Feuerbach among others. The doors were of various woods, and frequently had bands of wrought-iron to increase the medieval flavor, and the wooded ceiling supports were often held together by wrought-iron straps. The ceilings themselves often consisted of wooden beams with wooden panels or plaster between the beams. Wrought-iron lamps were common, and those placed along the walls were usually long, narrow and made to look like a torch. More

than likely, they had chandeliers, perhaps of forged-iron with any number of sconces set on a round frame and hanging from the ceiling with one or more chains.¹

All in all, the Heime were attractive. Thoughtful use was made of both field and cut stone. The buildings blend attractively with surrounding or nearby structures. As the manual for the Hitler Youth proclaimed:

A Hitler Youth Hostel must not show off with an extravagant roof. We want harmony with the landscape. If the village has long simple roofs, the Hitler Youth Hostel must not stick out like a horrible cafe; it must blend...²

For the most part, these prescriptions were followed to create an aesthetically pleasing folk style structure. Informal rooms, such as living quarters and discussion rooms, were generally built in good taste, while the landscaping tasks were carried out in superior fashion.

The existence of the youth hostels reveals the extent to which Nazi ideology permeated the lives of Germans. While instilling a sense of pride and nationalism into the German youth may have been one objective of the Hitler Jugend Heime, there is no doubt that their overarching purpose was the recruitment of young Nazis. Since prior to the writing of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler

¹ Die Schriftleitung, "Heim der Hitler-Jugend," Moderne Bauformen Dec. 1938: 632-638.

² Peter Adam, Art of the Third Reich (New York: Henry N. Abrams Inc. Publishers, 1992) 285.

believed that an overhaul of the German regime could never be complete unless the German youth were taught its ideology. Hitler.¹ This teaching could not come from Nazi adults. As Hitler once conceded, "Youth has its own state, it has a certain closed solidarity toward grown-ups, and this is perfectly natural."² Aware of this, Hitler found his vehicle to inculcate children with Nazi ideology in architecture-the heime. The hostels were practically irresistible to children and young adults. At an impressionable age, Germans who explored the countryside found hostels built explicitly for their own use. By offering this congregational space for children to do with as they pleased, Hitler was probably able to elicit a sense of appreciation toward its builder. Very easily, the youth hostels can be likened to the cottages at children's summer camps that exist today in great number along the American East Coast. Given the appeal of summer camps, it is no wonder why the heime were so frequently made use of, and even more importantly, why so many young Germans joined the Nazi ranks.

Architecturally, much of what has been noted about the Hitler Youth Hostels is applicable to the many military barracks that , with the advent of rearmament and the expansion of the armed forces, were constructed during the late 1930's. In

¹ Hitler 412-418

² Hitler 415

outside appearance, many were like the HJ-Heime, as the Hitler Youth Hostel is often called, half-timbered structures with hipped roofs. The medieval flavor, never unpopular with the Nazis, was frequently carried over into interior design. Offzoerheime (officer's quarters) were always very elaborate; yet, even the Mannschaftshauser (enlisted men's barracks) were constructed along lines far superior to the many "fly-by-night" barracks that were typical of more than one American post. German barracks were built to last, and as a matter of fact, many of them have. Unlike in the U.S., they were not hastily constructed to meet some emergent war time needs. While American barracks were strictly utilitarian and temporary, those built in Germany were permanent and, though largely utilitarian, much space was given over to such luxuries as gardens, trees, terraces, and courtyards. ¹

With the exception of the Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP and the Fuhrerbau, the buildings discussed thus far were largely built or remodeled under the auspices of the appropriate city authority, known as the Stadtgemeinde. Most military buildings such as the Heeresbauverwaltung (Army Administration Building) were built by groups allied with the Stadtgemeinde. The better known architects of the Third Reich were reserved for the major

¹ Die Schriftleitung, "Ein Flakregiment der Deutschen Luftwaffe," Moderne Bauformen Jan. 1940: 1-16; "Offizierheim eines Panzerregiments," Moderne Baiformen June 1940: 373-388.

government or party buildings. The works of two such architects, Herman Giesler and Clemens Klotz, can be seen in the three Ordensburgen or Order Castles that were built between 1934 and 1936.

The Ordensburgen were training schools for the future leaders of the NSDAP, and as such were at the top of the educational triangle. Ordensburg Crossinsee in Pomerania and Vogelsang in the Eifel were designed by Klotz, while Giesler built the Ordensburg Sonthofen in Bavaria. The architectural form of these Reich training castles derived from the fortress-like castles built by the Teutonic Knights and by no means had a despicable appearance. Located outside the cities, they existed in an attractive rural environment. Materials used in their construction were native to the locality. Giesler's Sonthofen was especially attractive. Less monumental than the other two, considerable use was made of wood while the length of the building harmonized with the lines of the valley in which it was located. The use of timber in the Inner Court with its long terraces, and the massive beams and columns in the Lounge gave the structure the desired medieval appearance.

Vogelsang, however, was a radical complex located on the side of a hill overlooking the Eifel valley. Unlike Sonthofen, its size and heavy use of stone placed it more in line with contemporary German notions of grandeur. From a distance,

Vogelsang appears as a giant fortress with several levels of fortifications behind the main wall, while from a similar distance, Sonthofen looks more like a resort that is neatly located among the hills of Allgau. The various "levels" at Vogelsang were actually a series of terraces, each with a distinct purpose. The first was used as an athletic field; the second, for ceremonial exercises, while the third and fourth were the dormitories and community halls.¹

The Ordensburgen, particularly Sonthofen, were rather relaxing to the eye, a pleasant contrast from the massive structures which went up in countless cities. The Ordensburgen were not long used for what they were intended, but as their style was not what is typically Nazi, they must be mentioned in any account of what the well-versed party member proudly called the "new German architecture."²

It was in Nuremberg, the Stadt der Reichsparteitage (City of the Party Day Rallies), where Hitler's architecture reached new levels. Albert Speer, one of the Fuhrer's favorites, was charged with the rebuilding of Berlin and was given the title of General Building Inspector for the Capital of the Reich. Speer was also responsible for all of the Party Day buildings in Nuremberg except the Kongresshalle which was designed by Ludwig Ruff.

¹ Adam 296-301.

² Han U. Rudel, Stuka Pilot (New York: Ballantine Books, 1965) 197-199.

Those who have either seen pictures of the various Party Day activities, know how successfully Speer completed his task of constructing buildings that would awe the masses and reflect the unity and invincibility of the Reich.

The entire complex of buildings was planned for completion by 1943, though only a few were finished. The Congress Hall, the foundation stone of which was laid at the Parteitag der Ehre (Party Day of Honor) in 1936, was only partly completed. The gigantic German Stadium never got much beyond the model stage, but a foundation stone was laid at the Parteitag der Arbeit (Party Day of Labor) in 1937. Designed to hold over 400,000 spectators, the walls surrounding the grandstand were to be 90 meters high with the stadium's total area exceeding 50,000 square meters. This stadium and the unfinished Marzfeld, or March Field, were the two largest buildings of the five that accounted for most of the Party Day complex.¹

However, the two remaining buildings were hardly pitiful structures. In the Luitpoldarena, which was an arena that was separated from the Kongresshalle by several hundred meters, numerous ceremonies were held such as the memorial service to those who fell in the Great War, and another service to honor dead party members. This memorial service to deceased party comrades was the high point of all proceedings in the

¹ Adam, 238-245

Luitpoldarena. Abreast of one another, Hitler, Himmler, and Lutze would walk slowly from the Ehrentribune through the massed columns of party followers. Constantly playing were strains of the song "Ich hatt einen kameraden" (I Had a Comrade). This tune echoed through the open arena until the leaders reached a temple-like structure with elongated Romanesque arches across the facade. Hitler, the head of the SS, and the head of the SA, stopped on the platform that extended from the facade and, with their hands raised in the party salute, paid tribute to the movement's martyrs.

Across the lake from the Kongresshalle, and directly opposite the proposed German Stadium was the Zeppelinfeld, the second of the two ceremonial buildings completed and in use prior to the war's outbreak. The colonnade with its long rows of geometric columns between which upright flags were placed, the Haupttribune (High Podium) and the grandstands, were all built with white jura marble. With their undisputed theatrical talents, the Nazis staged some of their most elaborate shows at the Zeppelinfeld. Particularly impressive, as it was meant to be, was the evening gathering when a host of cleverly spaced search lights shone their beams extending vertically in the air for as far as the eye could see. While along the colonnade, appearing to be an extension of the columns themselves, the crowd

prepared for Hitler's entrance.¹

The purpose of such pageantry is obvious, but the importance of the buildings that accommodated the Nazi events should not be overlooked. They too played an important role in maintaining and extending the authority of the party. As Ciesler wrote in 1939, "In Munich as in Berlin, these structures document the world view (Weltanschauung) and the strength of the movement. They are the greatest representatives of our time and are the manifestations of national socialism."²

In Berlin, between January, 1938, and January, 1939, one finds the Troost tradition carried to its extreme with the construction of the new Reichchancellery. As an excellent example of Nazi architecture, it deserves detailed description. Divided into three parts, the two outer wings were largely made up of offices, while the center of the structure contained Hitler's rooms and those of his aides. The Chancellery was located in the triangle just east and to the right of the Brandenburg Gate. The front faced the Vossstrasse or the base of the triangle. Running from east to west; that is, from Wilhemstrasse to the Hermann Goringstrasse, the building was basically one long row of festival halls and rooms. The entire

¹ Die Schriftleitung, "Das Stadion fur Nurenburg," Moderne Bauformen Oct. 1937: 489-496.

² Albert Speer, Die Neu Reichskanzlei (Munchen: 1939) 10.

length was 422 meters, while the exterior building material consisted largely of shell-limestone decorated with yellow ornamental paneling. Though the front faced the Vosstrasse, the most impressive entrance was the east entrance known as the Wilhelmstrasse. Here, after a few steps, one came to the huge open Ehrenhof (Honor Court that was actually featured on a 1940 postage stamp) of grey Jura dolomite with its columned entrance flanked on both sides by two bronzed nudes -- Partei (with torch) and Wermacht (with sword). Partei and Wermacht means the party and the armed services. The sculptor was Arno Breker, one of Hitler's favorites and who served as his guide around Paris when he visited the city as a conqueror in June of 1940.

Next to the Ehrenhof was a comparatively small foyer or Vorhalle on the left of which were several entrances to leading offices. To the right were stairs leading to the dining room. Its ~~length~~ was only 10.2 meters, but its length was 48 meters. The room was parallel to the Mosaic Room or the Mosaiksaal in one side and the garden on the other. The Vorhalle had fifteen French windows leading into an walkway that stretched along the garden. Leaving the foyer, and walking parallel to the dining room, a person went through a small entrance to the Mosaiksaal. The walls and floor were of reddish Salzburg marble, with the walls intercepted by bays of mosaic. The floor measured 46.2 x 19.2 meters. The height of the walls were 13.5 meters, though if

one included the sky-light it came to about 16 meters. The Mosaic Hall, scene of many formal ceremonies, led directly to the Runder Saal or Red Room. Not very large, perhaps deliberately so with the idea of contrasting with its surroundings, its light red walls were made of encrusted marble. The Round Hall was lighted from a glass quasi-chandelier and had a mosaic floor. Upon leaving this room, a person was greeted with a sight surely designed to awe him. This was the Marble Gallery or Marmorgalerie. A long hall in the center of the building, it housed a virtual sanctuary -- das Arbeitszimmer des Fuhrers (study of the Fuhrer). To the left were nineteen nearly ceiling high windows that overlooked the Vossstrasse, and on the right were five equally high doors. The center one led to Hitler's study. large tapestries adorned the walls, with high straight-back chairs, in groups of four, arranged about low, oval-topped tables flanking each side of the five doors. With the width of the hall 12 meters, the furniture did not interfere with traffic. The height of the Marmorgalerie was 9.5 meters, and its length was 146 meters, well beyond the length of a football field. The Empfangssaal (reception room) came next, and in the east-west axis described, was the last of the rooms designed for state occasions. From the Reception Hall one could step out into formal gardens or into a hallway that led to an exit from the Vossstrasse.

The fuhrer's study was a huge room with elaborate decor. It had a coffered ceiling of palisander wood and walls of dark-red Limbach marble with the panels of root timber. The floor, which measured 27 x 14.5 meters, was covered with one large carpet. The study was 9.75 meters high and, like the dining room, looked out on the garden and had five French windows leading to it. The French windows had counterparts on the inner wall of the study with 6x2 meter panels on which were hung paintings. The study had two doors at its west end. One, directly behind Hitler's desk led to his private apartments; the other, to a long corridor parallel with the western end of the Marmorgalerie, which led to the Cabinet Room. Contrary to Hitler's prediction at the dedication ceremonies, the Chancellery did not "outlive many centuries." By April, 1945, it was almost a total wreck though, in spite of incessant bombings and the Russian siege, it still stood when Germany surrendered.¹

Very germane to Hitler's Study is this remark about the general effect of Nazi architecture, "The human being was dwarfed by the scale of the buildings, reduced to an insignificant prop, which took on value only in an organized and choreographed mass."² Indeed, this was the goal of Nazi architecture, and it

¹ Adam 252-259; Speer's book offers the best illustration of the Reichchancellery; Interior pictures of the Chancellery after Berlin's fall can be found in Life magazine July 23, 1945, 19-27.

² Adam 227.

can be evidenced in Hitler's study as clearly as it can be anywhere. Walking into Hitler's office an individual could not help but feel inferior, both to the room itself and to the individual who occupied such a space. The ceiling was at least seven meters taller than the average human and the windows and doorways were massive as well.

Architectural proportions such as these aided Hitler in appealing to nationalism. When individuals feel as nothing, their tendency to join a group or rally around a popular cause increases. Hitler offered both, and, in part, Germans accepted because of the feeling evoked from living in a society dominated by architecture similar to that of Der Fuhrer's Study.

Like most Nazi architecture, the Chancellery was imposing but hardly beautiful. It was, however, a sign of things to come. At the second German Architectural and Art Exhibition held in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in early 1939, models were on display which put even the recently completed Reichchancellery in the shade. Chief among such models was the new headquarters of the General Staff in Berlin designed by Wilhelm Kreis, another architect who was popular with the Nazis. A central feature of the building was the Soldatenhalle or Soldiers' Hall. This was to be 251 meters long. Equally gargantuan was Giesler's design for Die Hohe Schule (the Highest School) der Partei on Lake Chiemsee. It had long facades, which the Nazis always liked, and

in this respect were similar to the Adolph-Hitler-School at Potsdam. Plans were also in the making for transforming the major German cities, but with exception of a few buildings, the plans never progressed beyond the model stage.

Such models, however, and the buildings completed, permit the making of several appraisals though they are likely to clash, for the architect will approach the Nazi building program via different avenues than those employed by a leadership scholar. Architecturally, there is much room for criticism. With one noteworthy exception rigid conformity was imposed on German architects resulting, particularly in the cities, in structures were much alike -- massive, overpowering, and severe. Little room was left for innovation and indeed, under Hitler, with Gropius, Mendelssohn and others fleeing the country, Germany lost the lead which it probably held in modern architecture prior to 1933. This left only the master architect, Hitler himself, and as one scholar noted:

Hitler had but one basic architectural notion: absolute symmetry, at any cost (including ultimately the sacrifice of theatrical effectiveness). The vast dreary projects for the innumerable Adolf-Hitler Squares for every big town are rigidly symmetrical, two of everything in crushing balance, except in the center where an eagle-crowned aperture furnishes the focus of his arrival and departure.¹

Still, not everything built during these years warrant

¹ Lincoln Kirstein, "Art in the Third Reich-Survey , 1945" Magazine of Art Oct. 1945: 234.

contempt. The HJ-Heime and similar buildings often had a rustic simplicity that was not distasteful, especially to those who like the folk style.¹ Some of the low-cost housing projects were not without merit. The highways, regardless of the purpose for them, and the Gaststatte (rest areas) along these roads were superior to what most other nations had at this time. Hitler even used his authority to abolish roadside advertising, build transformers that resembled small barns, and mandate that roadside gas stations conform to any folk style landscape that may exist in the surroundings. Other than the roads, it is difficult for the observer to easily find fault with the factories and other commercial buildings built at this time. This was the one area in which considerable freedom was allowed, for here the Nazis saw no need for expressing a spiritual idea, as in the case of public and domestic buildings.²

The leadership student would probably be less severe than the architect in pronouncing judgement, for the former is less interested in style than the purpose that prompted it. However, what was the chief purpose of the Nazi building program, and how well did it carry out its mission? The aim of the program was clearly stated by Hitler in his Kulturrede at Der Parteitag der

¹ Barbara M. Lane, Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.) 198-199.

² Kirstein 237, 240

Arbeit (Culture Speech at the Party Day of Labor) in 1937. It was, he claimed, only the authority of the NSDAP which saved the German people from total collapse and the terror of the Bolsheviks. The buildings that are being constructed throughout Germany are to serve that authority. As Hitler said in 1937, "Our enemies will guess it but our own people must know it; new buildings are being put up to strengthen our new authority."¹

The success of Nazi architecture in fulfilling its overarching purpose cannot be questioned. The might of the Reich was reflected in the overpowering massiveness of many of its buildings. Beside the colossal structures of the state, the individual felt as nothing. He was but a mere part in a vast machine, and National Socialist architecture daily reminded him of that fact. The Reichsparteitagsgelände (The Party Day Complex), the Freizeitheime (the Freetime of German Labor Front), H-J Heime, Ordensburgen and other party buildings, as they were neatly planned to do, inject into the life of the average German the color, pageantry, and mysticism of which he was so fond and which had been missing during the Weimar years. In such an environment, it is no puzzle why every word uttered by Hitler seemed as if it had practically been spoken from God. In view of this, neither is it any puzzle what the judgement must be of the architecture of the Third Reich.

¹ Adam, 211

The Possibility of Art as a Leadership Substitute

As World War II progressed, the increased destruction of Hitler's military met with an increased construction of massive buildings. Structures such as the nearly 500,000 seat German Stadium, the March Field, and Kongresshalle are among the gargantuan building projects never completed but still under construction toward the end of the war. As one scholar noted, "The size of the projects mushroomed in inverse proportion to the country's fortunes in war. As Hitler's power diminished, the buildings increased in size." This fact alone serves to substantiate the idea that architecture in Nazi Germany may have served as a substitute for leadership.

The notion of leadership substitutes was developed in the late 1970's when two organizational scholars created a model that determines situations that can actually diminish the need for managerial leadership.¹ A practical example of this is classroom discussion. When students participate in discussion they are learning from one another; thus, the importance of the teacher or the leader is diminished.²

As Hitler asserted in 1923 or 1924, "the public monuments built not for the present but for all time reflect the greatness

¹ Gary A. Yukl, Leadership in Organizations (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989) 108.

² Frederic Jablin, lecture, Leadership Substitutes., *History and Theories of Leadership*, Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond Fall 1996.

and importance of the nation. Only national monuments can form the tie that binds the individual to his city."¹ Here Hitler makes clear his nationalist intention and the role that art plays in garnering support for it. Furthermore, he admits that "only" national monuments can create the effect he desires. This is an outright concession that architecture can do for the Nazi regime what its leader cannot. Some scholars argue that Hitler used art as a mere leadership enhancer. A leadership enhancer accomplishes just what one might think, it increases an individual's ability to lead by optimizing the leadership potential that he already has. This is not the case with Hitler at all. Hitler openly admits to not being able to accomplish that which architecture can - forming "the tie that binds the individual to his city." In other words, Hitler did not believe that architecture would help him bond Germans with their cities. Rather, architecture would accomplish this feat alone. Admittedly, there are many ways of debunking the notion that art can function as a leadership substitute. Surely, some will assert that Hitler merely believed that architecture could produce a leadership end unto itself and this did not turn out to be the case. However, what should be kept in mind is the magnitude of the building projects under construction as the Nazi regime was crumbling and the resistance that Germany put up until

¹ Rittich 20.

the fall of Berlin. From this, it is by no means difficult to conclude that: while Hitler's military authority was being pulverized across Europe, in North Africa, and in the Atlantic, his authority at home was being sustained by his first love - art.¹

¹ See Erich Fromm, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973) 422. For a Freudian interpretation Hitler and his obsession with architecture see Robert G. L. Waite, The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) 158-160).

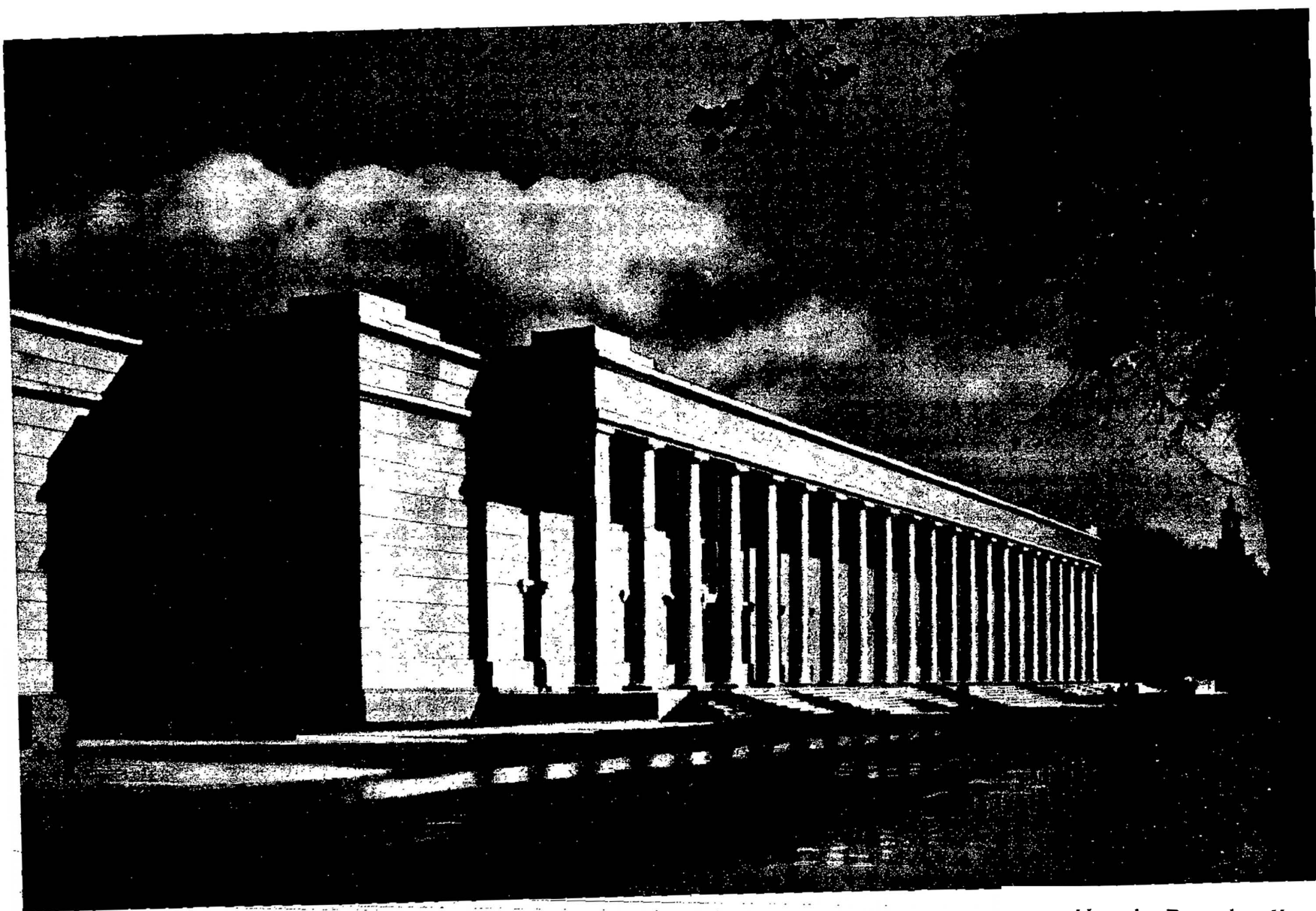
Bibliography

- Adam, Peter. Art of the Third Reich. New York: Henry N. Abrams Inc. Publishers, 1992.
- Frohm, Erich. The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- Grosshans, Henry. Hitler and the Artists. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983.
- Hitler, Adolf. Mein Kampf. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1927.
- Hoffman, Heinrich. Hitler Was My Friend. London, 1955.
- Jablin, Frederic. Lecture. Leadership Substitutes. *History and Theories of Leadership*. Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond Fall 1996.
- Kirstein, Lincoln. "Art in the Third Reich-Survey, 1945." Magazine of Art Oct. 1945.
- Lane, Barbara M. Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Rittich, Werner. New German Architecture. Berlin: Terramare Office, 1941.
- Rudel, Hans U. Stuka Pilot. New York: Ballantine Books, 1965.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Das Auslandshaus der Hitler-Jugend." Moderne Bauformen Jan. 1939.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Das Stadion für Nürnberg" Moderne Bauformen Oct. 1937.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Der Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP." Moderne Bauformen Aug. 1938.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Ein Flakregiment der Deutschen Luftwaffe." Moderne Bauformen Jan. 1940.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Heim der Hitler-Jugend." Moderne Bauformen Dec. 1938.
- Die Schriftleitung. "Offizierheim eines Panzerregiments." Moderne Bauformen June 1940.
- Speer, Albert. Die Neue Reichskanzlei. München: 1939.
- Speer, Albert. Das Bauen im Neuen Reich. München: 1940.

Waite, Robert G. L. The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977.

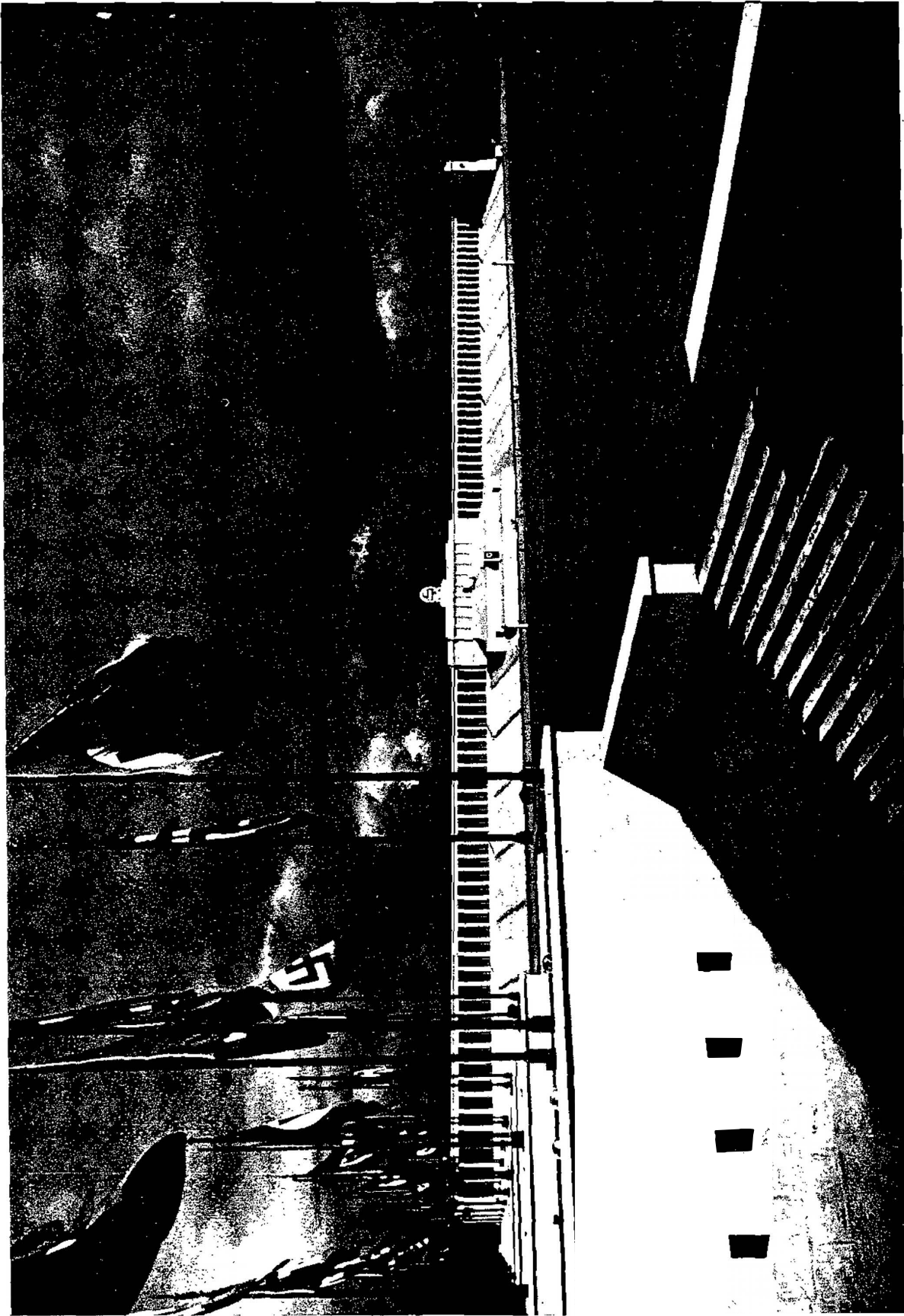
Yukl, Gary A. Leadership in Organizations. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989.

Appendix of Illustrations



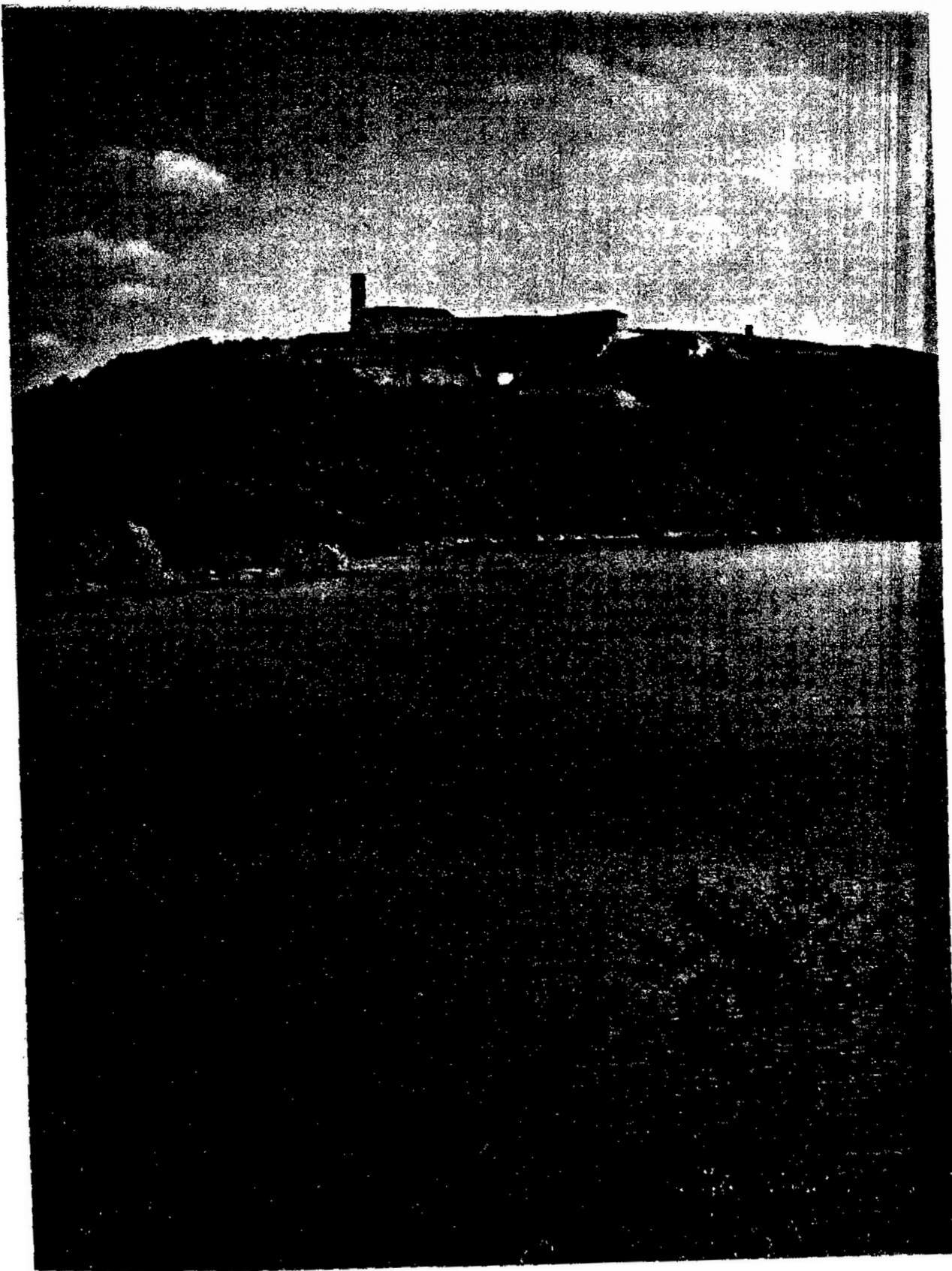
Haus der Deutschen Kunst

Paul Ludwig Troost



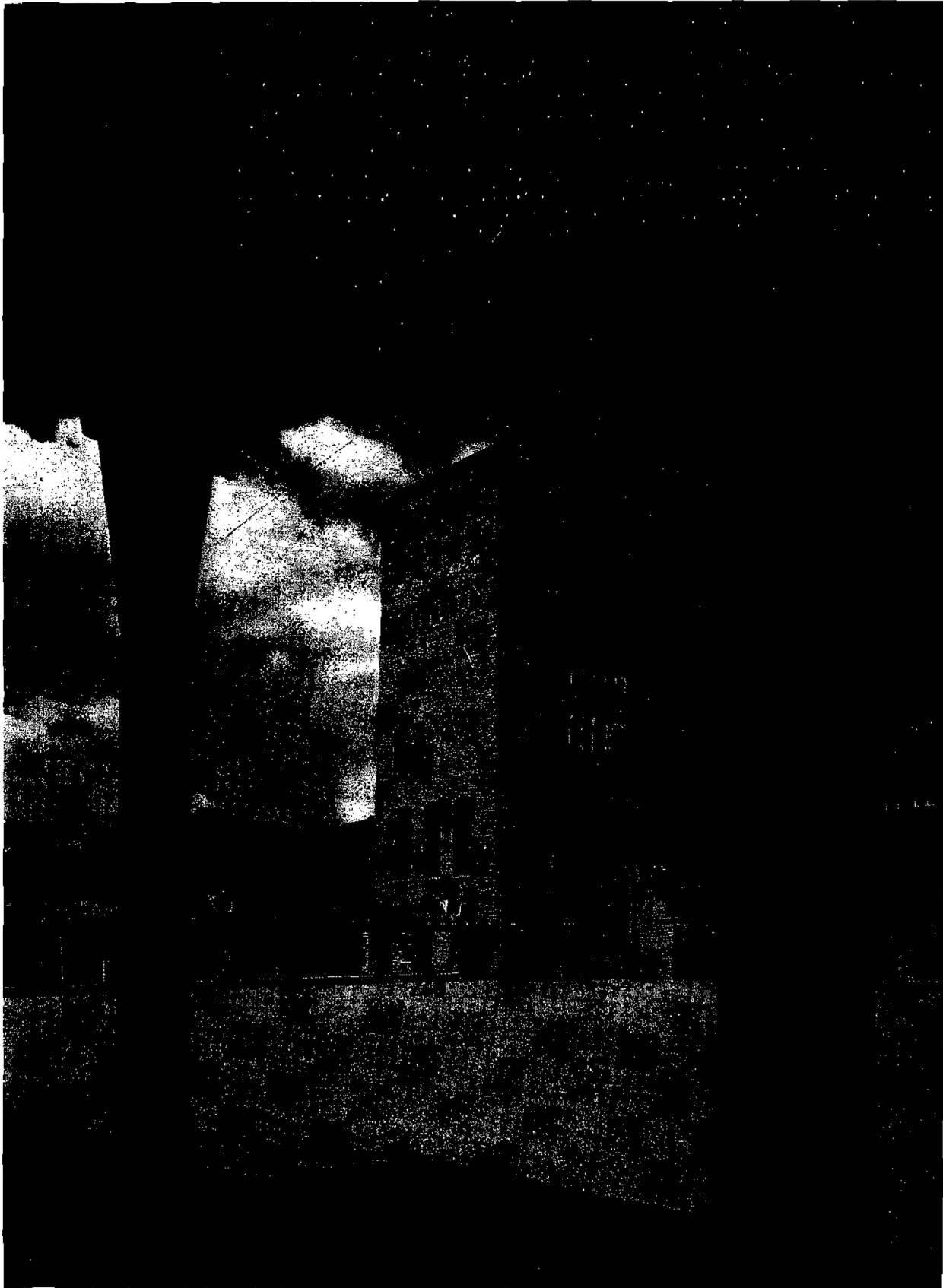
Zeppelinfeld

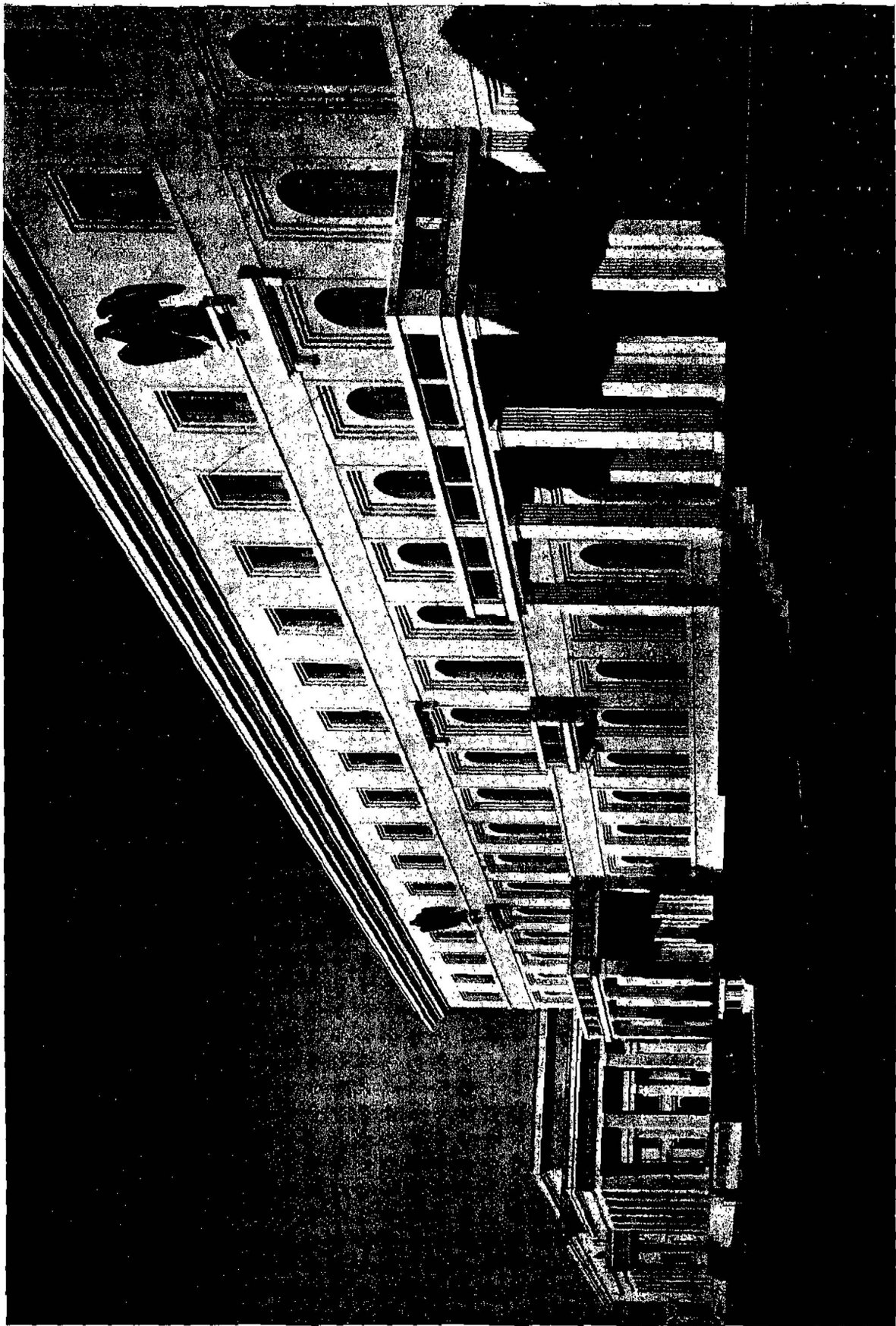
Albert Speer



Clemens Klotz

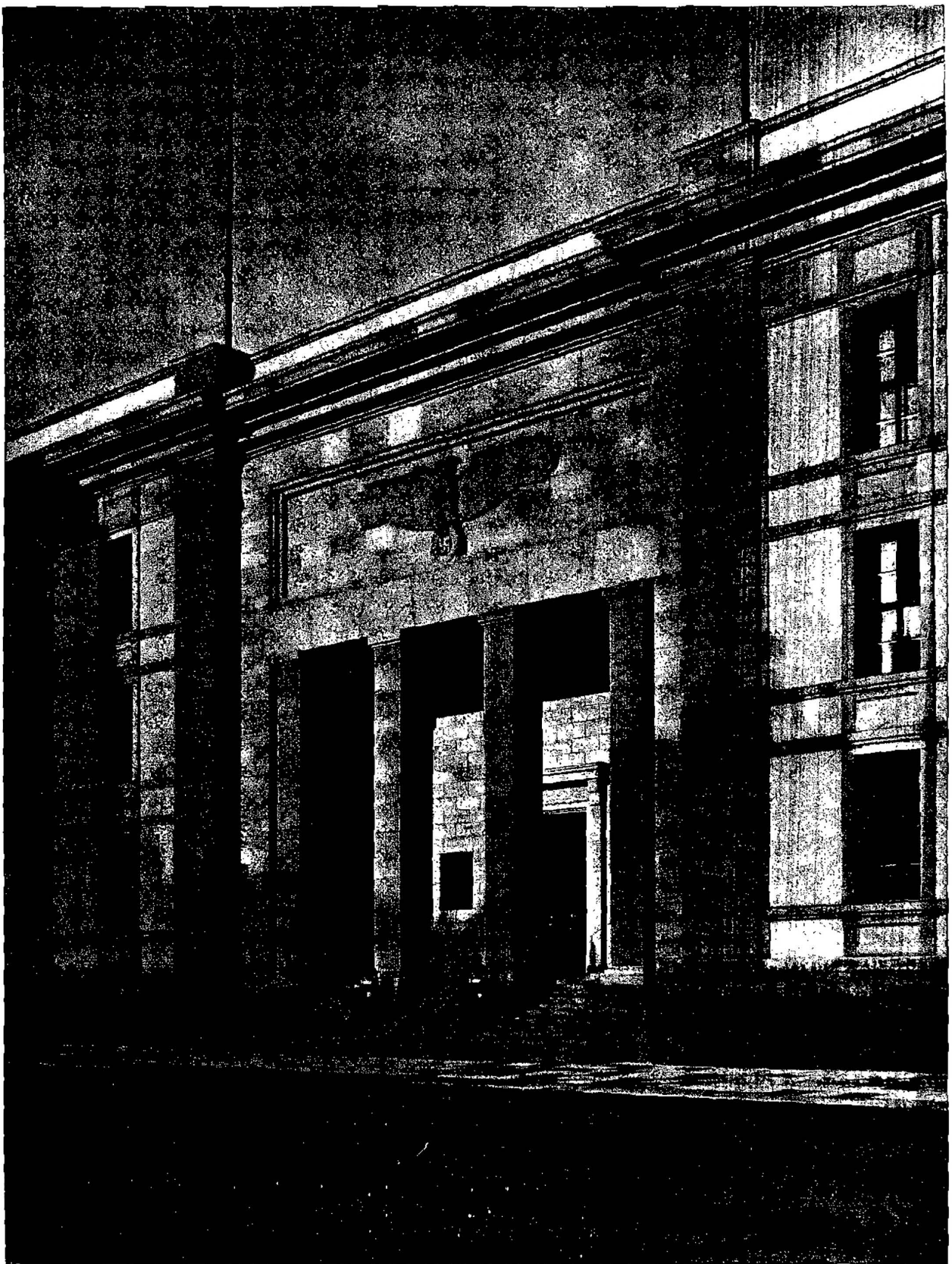
NS.-Ordensburg Vogelsang





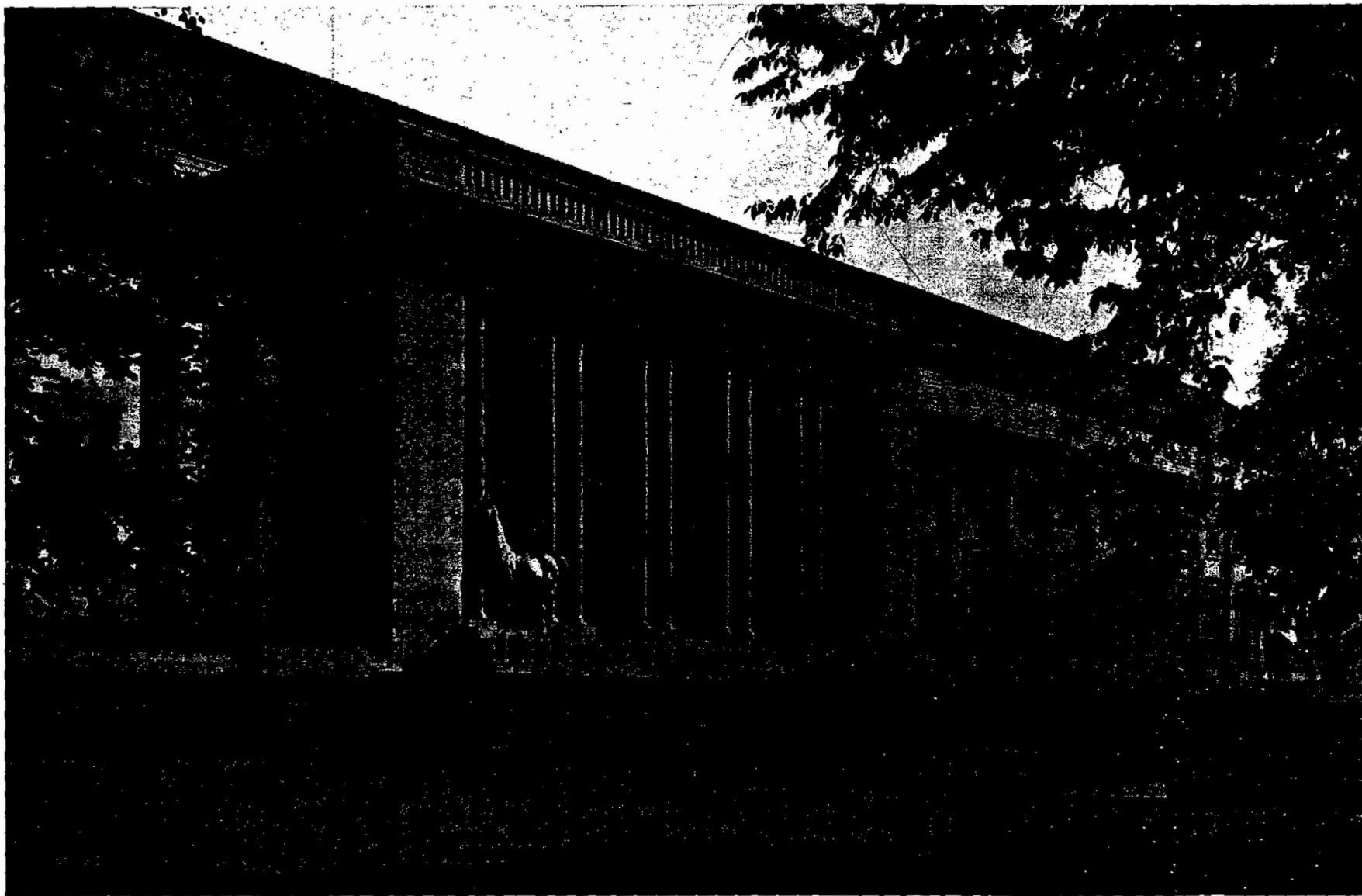
Paul Ludwig Troost

Verwaltungsbau der NSDAP.



Albert Speer

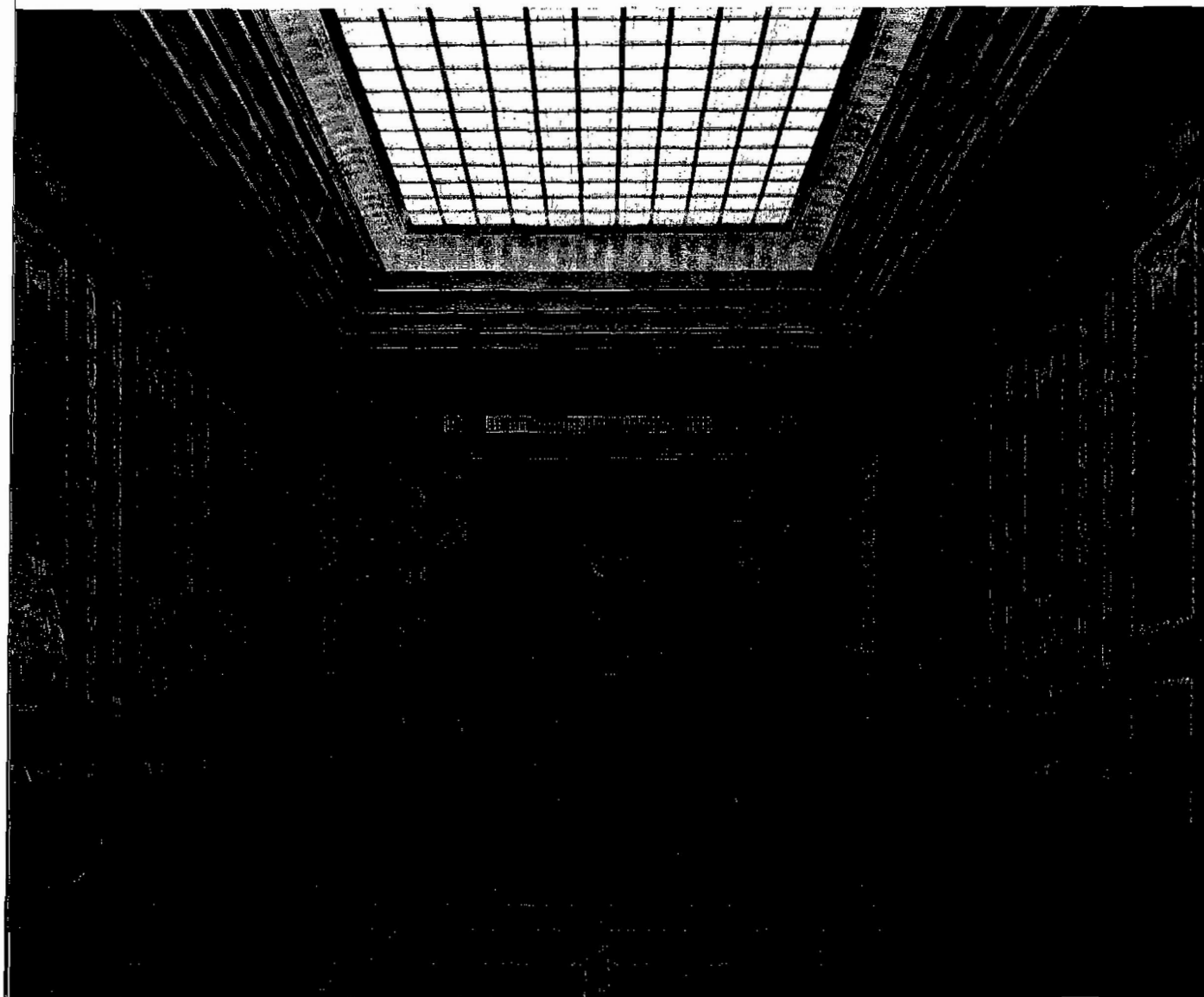
Die neue Reichskanzlei



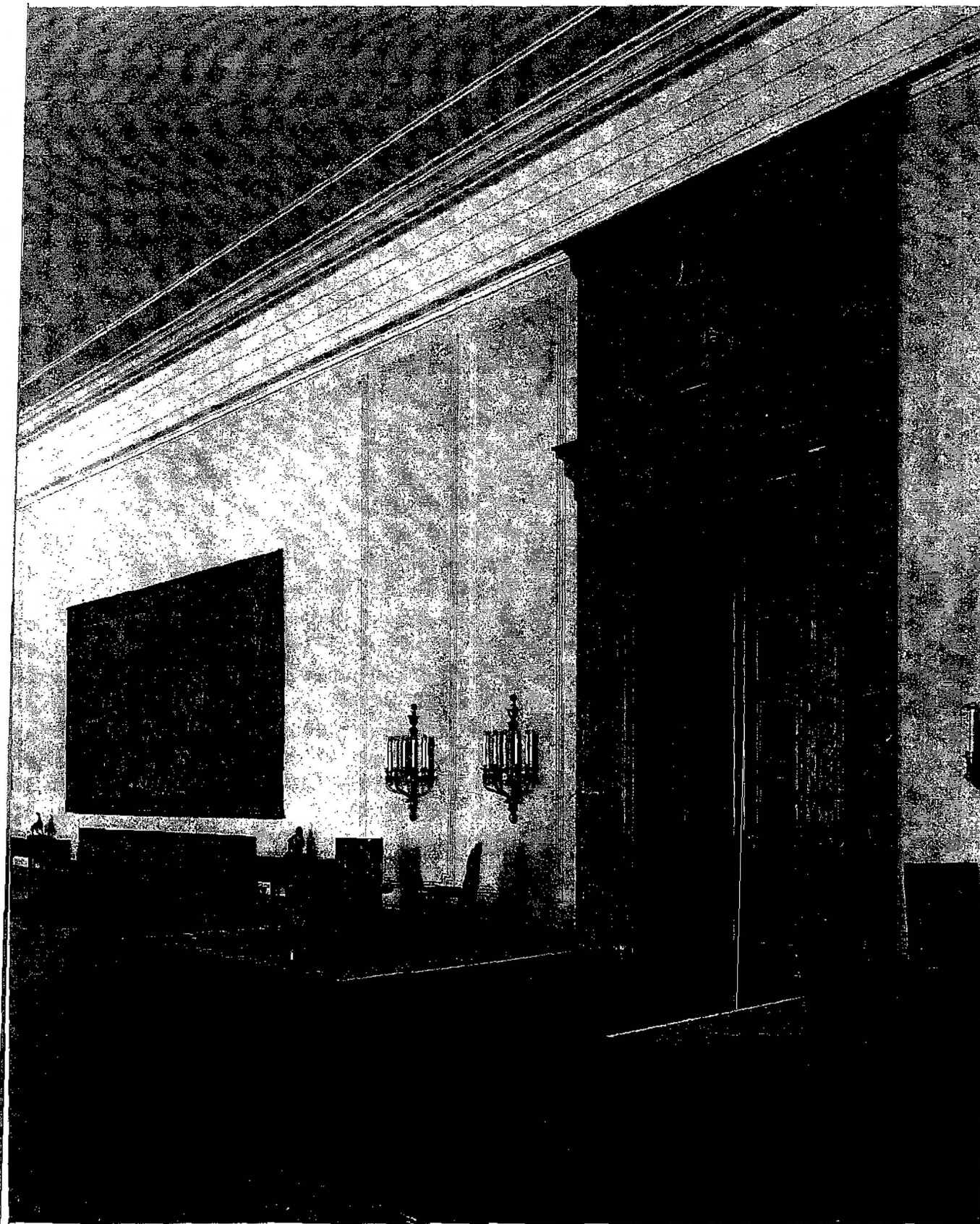
Albert Speer

Die neue Reichskanzlei, Gartenfront

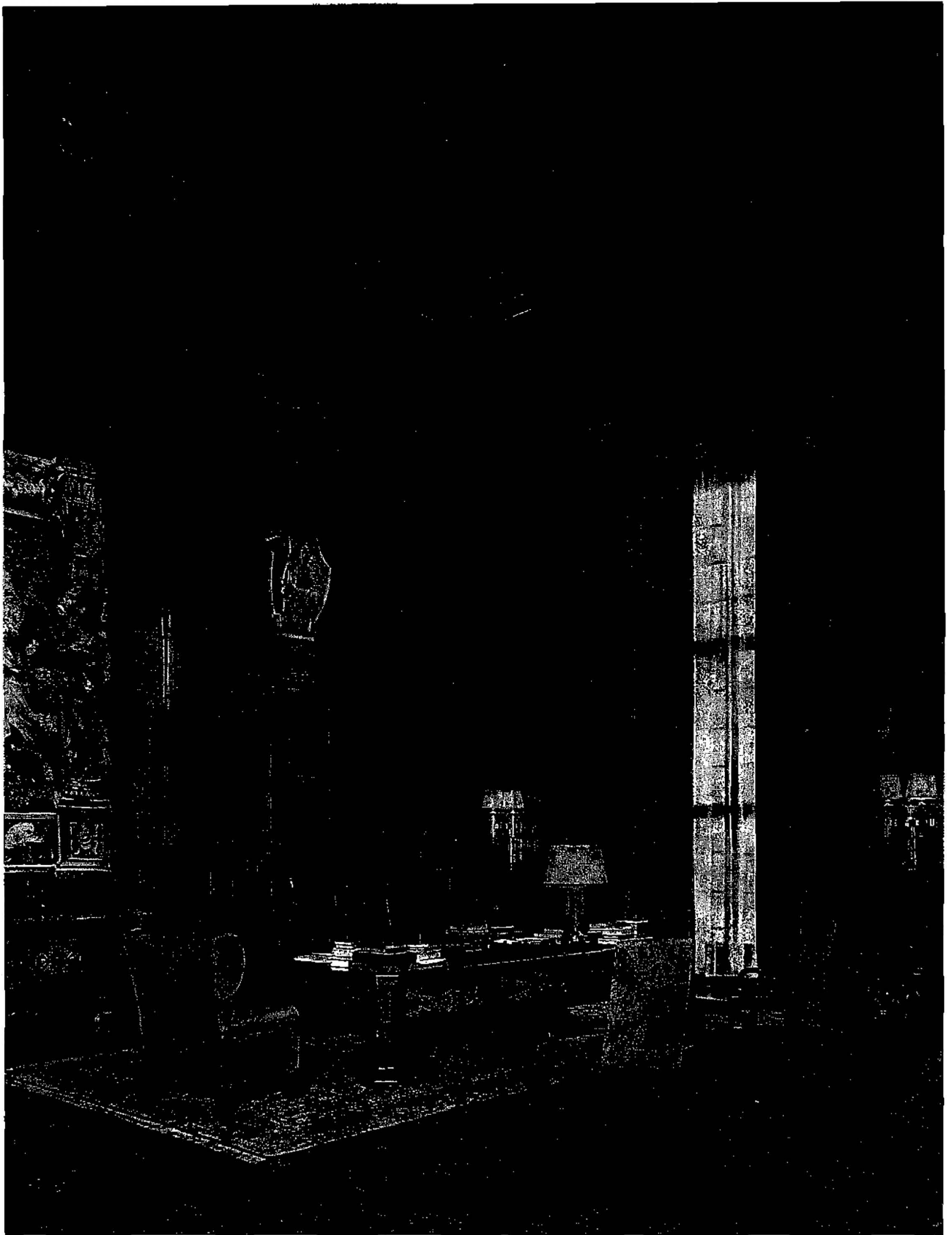




Der Mosaiksaal in der Neuen Reichskanzlei. Architekt Albert Speer. Grundfläche 46,2 m zu 19,2 m, Wandhöhe 13,5 m, Gesamthöhe 16 m.
Marmor „Rotgrau Schnöll“ aus der Nähe von Salzburg; dazwischen zehn Mosaikfelder von Hermann Kaspar



Teilansicht der Marmorgalerie mit einer der fünf Türen, die zum Arbeitszimmer des Führers und zu den Fluren vor den Adjutantenzimmern führen. Marmor „Deutschrot“. Die Alexander-Teppiche aus Wien werden durch Teppiche nach Entwürfen von Werner Peiner ersetzt. Kartuschen von Hans Vogel



Aus dem Arbeitszimmer des Führers und Reichskanzlers. Wände dunkelroter ostmärkischer Marmor mit Feldern aus Wurzelholzplatteu. Kassettendecke Palisander. Über den Türen Kartuschen von Richard Klein. Gesamtentwurf und Möbel von Albert Speer, Intarsien von Hermann Kaspar



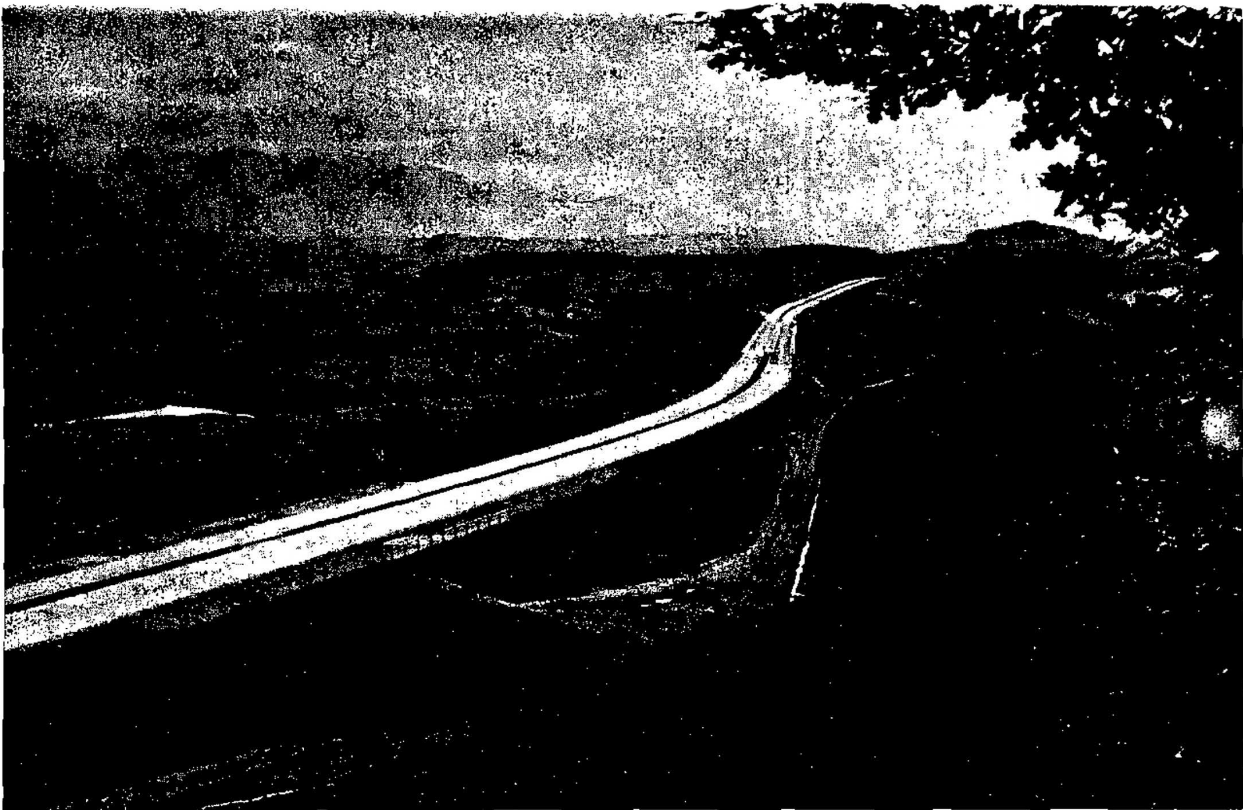
Hanns Dustmann

Hermann-Göring-Heim der HJ., Melle



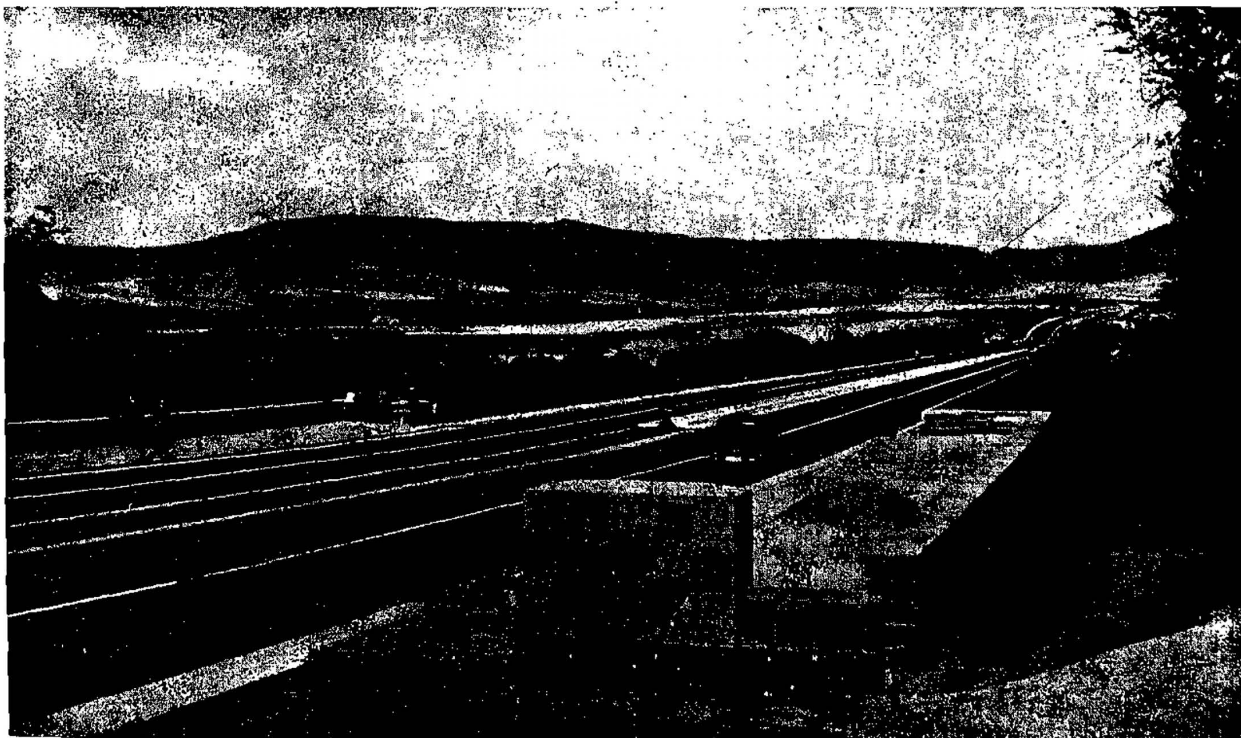
G. A. Munzer, Karl Fröh

Josef-Goebbels-Jugendherberge in Düsseldorf



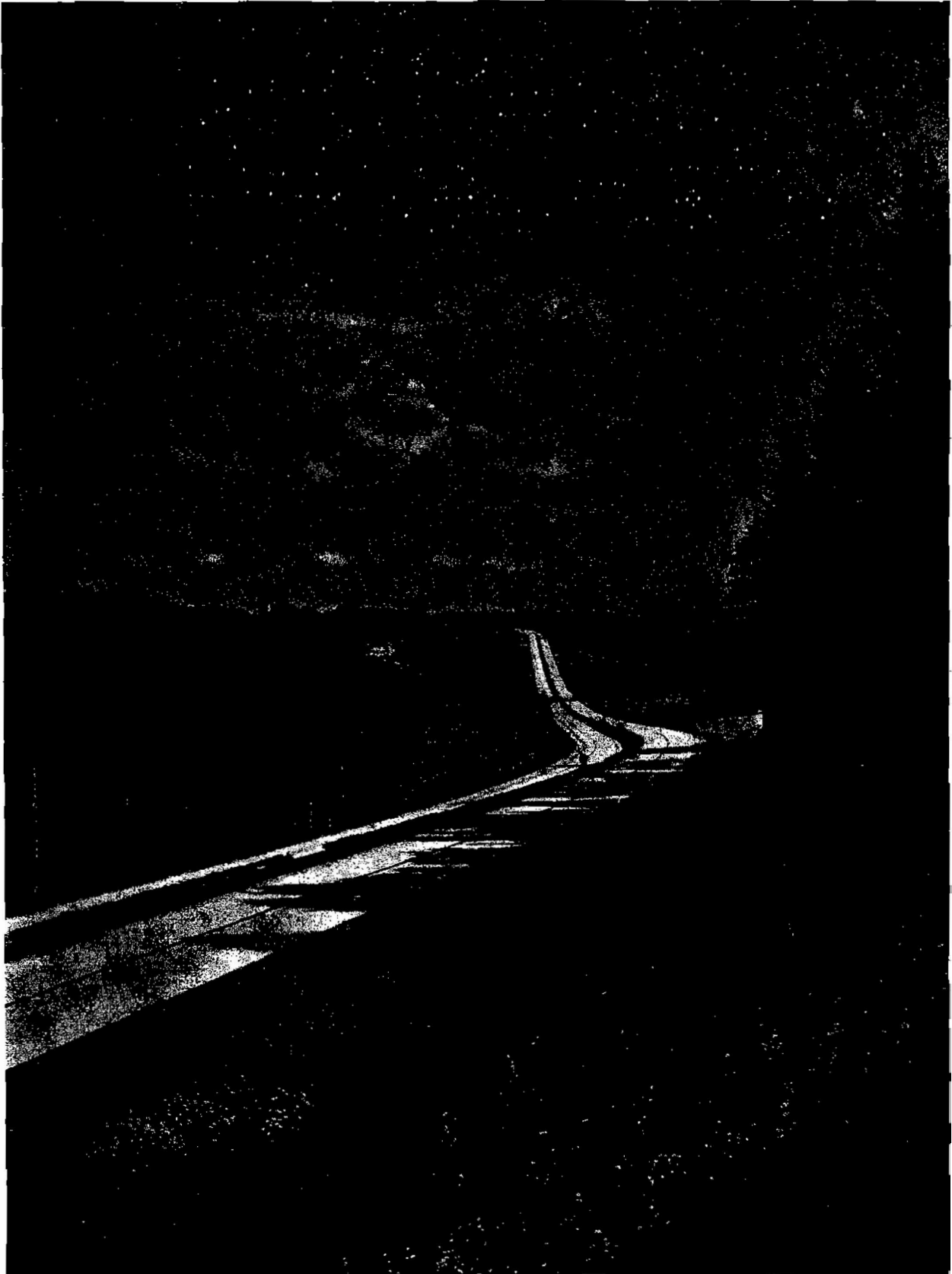
Reichsautobahnen, Oberste Bauleitung München

Reichsautobahnstrecke im Alpenvorland



Reichsautobahnen, Oberste Bauleitung

Reichsautobahn an der Werra



Reichsautobahnen, Oberste Bauleitung München

Reichsautobahnstrecke im Alpenvorland